

# PEACE NEWS

No. 422 July 14, 1944 2d.

## PILOTLESS AND PITILESS

IN a leading article, headed as above, The Church of England Newspaper, June 23, wrote:

Whilst its present military significance is trivial, its spiritual significance . . . is profound. It raises the vast question to what extent further technical development is consistent with the preservation of the soul. The more science develops the machine, the more society seems to be driven, in the use of it, to the violation of all the humanities.

The pilotless plane is the latest stage in the process. It ignores all human differences and distinctions. The essence of soul is differentiation. The essence of the machine is uniformity and necessity, ultimately the uniformity and necessity of destruction.

It is ghastly to think of this weapon careering through the sky on its mission of death, moving by an imposed compulsion. To see one of them in the night sky, and then to realize that it is mechanism controlled by mechanism is to suggest some satanic vision of humanity completely subject to the work of its own hands.

Enough and more than enough has been written of the great benefits which the machine has brought to mankind. Is it not time that we all began to ponder the fateful question—where is all this mechanism going to lead man? Is a super-technical civilization compatible with Christianity, with a religion which caters for the soul of man?

This pilotless plane, this embryological Frankenstein, will be overcome. But can we overcome the value and idea of life, of which it is a late product?

★

A former Joint Editor of The Church of England Newspaper, the Rev. D. R. Davies (now Vicar of Emmanuel, West Dulwich), advocated reprisals in an article in the Sunday Express (Jul. 9).

"Thorough-going reprisals for this latest and greatest German outrage," he wrote, "will do more for the re-education of the German people than all the text-books which the romantic Liberals propose to write. So reprisals, by the paradox of a cruel situation, become a national and moral duty."

### A BIT THICK

TOM DRIBERG wrote in Reynolds News on Sunday:

I always enjoy George Orwell's column in Tribune, but I disagreed strongly with his opening remarks last week. "Some journalists are denouncing them (flying bombs) as barbarous, inhumane, and 'an indiscriminate attack on civilians.' After what we have been doing to the Germans over the last two years, this seems a bit thick. . . ."

An intelligent man like Orwell really oughtn't to talk like a Peace Pledger. There is surely an appreciable difference in principle between these flying bombs, which are necessarily aimed only vaguely and may fall anywhere, and RAF raids, which do kill thousands of civilians incidentally, but are aimed primarily for reasons of economy and strategy if not of humanity—at military and industrial targets. Our side shouldn't give such loopholes to the Right.

# THE DILEMMA OF DEMOCRACY

SAYS Time (June 6) categorically:

"Italy's new Premier, gentle Ivanoe Bonomi, got a rough ultimatum from London: put ex-Premier Pietro Badoglio back in the Cabinet, or else . . . Italy's anti-Fascist politicians had reckoned without the wrath of Winston Churchill . . ."

"After raising a feckless fuss, Britain (and the US) had to approve the Bonomi government anyhow. Now the Communists, Italian and Russian, leaned back and laughed while Italian resentment mounted against Britain and the US."

At the time of writing the Bonomi government had not yet been allowed to take possession of the Government offices in Rome, although the front is now more than 120 miles away.

"The impression is beginning to gain ground that the Allies look askance at the Bonomi government, and that, after allowing this political bubble to be blown, they are waiting for it to burst, in order to substitute something more to their liking." (Times, July 4.)

### Left-wing dogma

It is not so simple as it looks. Bonomi's own record, under Giolitti, is not inspiring. Those who remember the paralysis and corruption of pre-Fascist and "democratic" Italy will acknowledge that British policy is up against a real problem. Even the New Statesman (July 8) has an article showing how feudal and pre-political is the attitude of the Italian peasantry, who cannot conceive Italy without a king.

The trouble is that the Left will not be honest about Fascism. It has towards it a purely dogmatic attitude which refuses to admit that it was an attempt to deliver the country from a condition of paralysis. It is foolish to talk as though communism, or democracy—or some unknown combination of both—was the true solution. Democracy was paralysed by the inability of communism either to co-operate or conquer, both in Italy and Germany. Fascism has failed: but the problem it was created to solve still remains—more urgent than ever.

### A world problem

The problem is universal today; and it is by no means certain that even Britain or US will be able to solve it for themselves. In general terms the question is this: "Can a democratic community use the State-power in such a way that it ensures a stable and expanding economy while retaining personal freedom and the rule of law?" (Economist, July 8.)

The question has not been answered in the affirmative save perhaps in a few small countries to which the dangers and the allurements of power-politics are pre-emptorily forbidden. Their enforced pacifism has given them their opportunity. But to gull oneself into the belief that communism is anything but a "No" to the question is to be either a fool—or a knave; or a bit of both.

### German Army methods

IT is part of the accepted picture that discipline in the German army is much more severe than in our own. The idea is not confirmed by the record-book of punishments for a German unit captured in Normandy. Three days' open arrest for a corporal who spoke in "an insubordinate manner to his general" seems an extraordinarily light punishment. And not one of the punishments can be reckoned severe by any military standards.

The record, indeed, confirms the reports of two or three years back that the relation between the rank and file and the officers of the German army had changed completely from that of the Prussian tradition; and that the German army had become what we should call (and the Prussians and Russians would not) a

"democratic army." This aspect of the paradox of Nazism is important. It reminds us that authoritarianism can be popular. And Nazi authoritarianism is probably as popular in Germany as Communist authoritarianism is in Russia.

### "Popular" government

Anglo-Saxons take it for granted that a political system, to be popular, must be democratic. But this assumption is based on an ambiguous use of the word "popular." A democratic system is popular in the technical sense that it is based on the political will of the people, as far as that is expressed. But a non-democratic system may be more popular than a democratic one in the sense that it may be more congenial. After all, even in a democracy a large proportion of people either do not desire to express their political will, or have no clearly formed will to express. They might discover that abso-

lutism, receptive to and influenced by popular sentiment, was a comfortable system.

Perhaps the words of George Santayana, when the American newspaper men recently unearthed him in Rome, are in point. They asked him what he thought of Communism and Fascism.

"Doubtless there are good things in both as well as bad (he replied). I think it is right that there should be new movements, suitable to new generations and periods. They shock and disturb those who are attached to the old institutions, but they are not meant for them. It is true, of course, that although they are intended to be 'for the people', they end up by being for those who are running the State."

### Clouded counsels

FRANCE has always gone to men's heads like wine. Pre-revolutionary, post-revolutionary France—it has always been the same. That

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

## Warriors in uniform —

DESCRIBING a visit to a field hospital in the forward zone, a reporter wrote in the Daily Herald, June 19, "Sergeant-Major J. H. . . . watched nurses in khaki overalls, field boots and leggings, working on a man next to him in a sorting-camp."

Said the Sergeant to the reporter: "Thirty hours ago, Jerry—this man next to me now—is on one side of a farmyard in Normandy. I'm on the other side. We've both had years of practice and training to get ready for a situation like that. He gets me through the arm with his machine-gun, but I get him too before I pass out. Next thing I know, we're in the same ship on the way home, in the same ambulance, in the same bit of field waiting to be patched up by the same doctors and nurses! What happens next? Do I ask every day after his health?"

★

"A British Red Cross ambulance driver today related a weird experience, driving miles inside enemy lines through shell-torn villages full of Nazi troops, and finally being waved back to the safety of British lines by a German officer," reported The Star, Jul. 4.

### MUTUAL AID

MEMBERS in London and the South are carrying on, despite the "beetles" overhead. But there have been personal losses. Our friends in the Midlands and in the North will, I know, be glad to help us as they are able, by giving a little extra, or sooner, or both, to our funds.

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Jun. 30: £22 1s. 6d. Total to date: £176 15s. 7d.

Donations to the Fund, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund" will be gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE  
Hon. Treasurer.

## The Germans surrender — to Danes !

THE complete victory gained by the general strike in Denmark is remarkable.

Acts of sabotage by the Denmark resistance movement were punished by reprisal executions: more sabotage, more reprisal executions. A curfew (8 p.m.) was imposed, and the Schalburgkorps—an organization of Danish Nazi SS some 2,000 strong—was employed to police the streets of Copenhagen.

Popular indignation grew. A strike movement began. The Germans relaxed the curfew till 11 p.m. on June 29. But on June 30 the strike had spread to the whole of Copenhagen and the trade unions had taken the lead. The strike began to spread to the country. The Germans declared a state of siege. Fighting in the streets.

At this point the leaders of the small resistance movement, the Danish Freedom Council, formulated four demands:

- (1) The Schalburgkorps must go;
- (2) Curfew and state of siege to be lifted;
- (3) Lifting of the "blockade" of Copenhagen;
- (4) No punishment for strike.

On July 2 the Germans agreed to call off the state of siege and restore the gas, water, electricity services. The Employers' Federation, the trade unions and the Mayor appealed for a resumption of work; but the strikers remained out till all four conditions were accepted.

The casualties appear to have been about 40 killed and 600 wounded. The Economist (July 8) from which some of the details of a still obscure story are taken, comments that the decisive reason for the success of the strike was that in Denmark "the old forms of democratic society survived the German occupation"—trade unions, municipalities, Employers' Federation. But why did they survive? Because Denmark, unlike other occupied countries, offered no military resistance.

## Warriors in uniform —

"We started out from Fontenay Lepesnel looking for a specialist for three wounded men," the driver told Roger Greene, AP war correspondent. "We rolled through Hottot (bristling German stronghold) and away on to Lelionvert."

"We knew we were lost then, so we stopped and asked a German officer where the British lines were. He did not seem to understand us very well."

"But he got the word 'British' and pointed out the way back. Nobody stopped us."

## — and out of it

At the recent annual council meetings of the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, a resolution was passed with scarcely any opposition (proposed by the Unitarian and Free Church Peace Fellowship) urging that the Atlantic Charter should apply "to all peoples." An amendment, proposed by Rev. R. Nicol Cross, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, to add the words "of goodwill," was overwhelmingly defeated.

Now, writing in The Inquirer (Jul. 8), the Rev. N. Cross protests vehemently against "old discredited creeds of brotherhood of men and murderers, obsolete dogmas of disarmament and fellowships of reconciliation, to which we largely owe this war," which may be "resurrected as soon as it ends. These superstitions . . . are the sin against the Holy Ghost, the spirit of enlightenment that leads into all truth, goodness, and beauty."

★

From the Marlborough Times: "Oare. The Sunday School anniversary was held in the Methodist Church on Sunday. . . . A 4-foot model of a Spitfire . . . occupied the pulpit for the evening."



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All letters on other than editorial matters  
should be addressed to the Manager

## LEADING THE BLIND

THE story of Mr. Churchill's attitude to the Bonomi government in Italy, taken together with the kind words to Franco, gives a coherent picture of an attitude and a policy. Fascism is not, for Mr. Churchill, the enemy: but only German Fascism, not because it is Fascism, but German. The enemy is Communism, except in Russia, where it is the friend not because it is Communism, but because it is Russian. That corresponds with all Mr. Churchill's past utterances and with his present belief that the war is not an ideological war. For him it is a war against Germany, and nothing more.

The policy based on this attitude is equally clear. It aims at weakening Germany by every means. Hence the eagerness with which Churchill has pressed that Poland should take East Prussia and Silesia; the refusal to propound any terms whatsoever to Germany; the insistence upon "unconditional surrender"; and the blank denial that the Atlantic Charter has any application to Germany.

As a policy in 1944 it seems to us fatal. The significant thing is that the House of Commons never dares to challenge it. The nearer the barren victory approaches, the more the nature of Mr. Churchill's policy is revealed, the more the House of Commons appears to be fascinated by him, and willing to surrender any semblance of control over his political actions.

The reason why the House of Commons dares not challenge the Churchillian policy is that it has no belief in a coherent alternative. After all, it is mainly composed of men who have either been all for peace with Nazi Germany, so long as it did not become too strong, or all for fighting Nazi Germany, so long as it remained a battle of words, without military conscription or expenditure on armaments. On such foundations how can a coherent policy be built?

Compared to their confusion the Churchillian policy is clear and honest.

Clear, honest, and insensate. But neither this Parliament, nor the country as a whole, appears to be capable of thinking through the European chaos to some assertion of principle. The country has clutched at the Churchillian simplicities: but, alas, without believing in them: just as the German people, in their greater perplexity, have clutched at Hitler's simplicities without believing in them. The pitiful thing is that neither England nor Germany has found anything else to believe in.

Nobody believes in the post-war utopias. There is one universal desire to get the bloody business over, and to get a job; one universal foreboding that after the war will be worse than before; one universal incapacity to believe that there is any solid hope of anything better.

In this confusion the policies of Churchill are uncontested. They are solid, like a sledge-hammer. Down Germany! That saves you from thinking. What's the good of thinking?

Indeed, we cannot say. All the problems are insoluble on the pre-suppositions with which they are approached.

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A lady asked the way to a certain hotel of a man who, though he had drunk more than was good for him, was eager to help.

"Let me see, lady" (said he). "Take the first on the right, then the third on the left, and then the second on the right . . . No, that won't do."

"See here, lady" (said he). "Take the second on the right, then the second on the left, and then the third on the right . . . No-o, that's no good. "You take the third on the right, then the first on the left, and then the first on the right." Finally, he shook his head.

"See here, lady" (said he earnestly). "You can't get there from here."

## The pacifist outlook - III

IN the midst of widespread political bankruptcy and socialist decadence, with a mechanized generation to whom liberty signifies little more than the right to eat, drink, and be merry in return for an implicit obedience to the State, pacifism is presented with a problem which the war-ridden mind of our time is scarcely able to appreciate, let alone solve.

The ideal world of modern socialism is little better than a glorified zoo. It is no longer a human world, for spiritual and human values have been and still are being superseded by physical and material values at an astonishing rate. Social betterment is described in wholly materialistic terms, such as guaranteed (mechanistic) employment, economic security from the cradle to the grave, holidays with pay and plenty of money for entertainment. After these spiritually and physically devastating war years the workers are invited to anticipate an El Dorado consisting of a regular job on the workline, fur-coat-and-car suburbias and ample money by which to escape from them.

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Not a word is said about the values which were lost in transit on the journey from ruralism to industrialism. They are completely forgotten. Socialism also overlooks the fact that it is the loss of these values that is really responsible for the pains and deprivations of gigantic slumps and now of terrific total wars, which it, alas, supports.

Yet what has society gained, and what does socialism offer to it that can compare with the wholesome enjoyments of a fully integrated human and social life, with the satisfactions of the husbandman and the craftsman in a society which knows how to appraise skill and how to honour those who exercise it?

Modern socialism like modern capitalism started from the assumption

# WHERE STANDS PACIFISM?

tion that material values could be divorced from spiritual values, and economics from religion. The latter spread injustice, while the former sought to check and end it, on the material plane. Today they are coalescing in a morass of materialism, war, and totalitarianism. Both should have started with a clear understanding of the nature of man and the conditions of his highest well-being, in particular with an appreciation of man's creative instincts and the important part which these should play in the life of the individual person and of society.

Had that been done all other things would have fallen into their right places. Science would have served man's highest interests instead of destroying both him and his world, as it is now doing. The labour of men would have acted as the means of social cohesion rather than of personal, social, and international disintegration as is the case today.

★

The difference between these two levels of existence is the difference between a quantitative and a qualitative civilization. At the former level, economic security and money values supersede vocational interests and spiritual values, and thus tend to rob liberty of its deeper significance. In the one case we get uniform commodities and uniform individuals, in the other, distinctive commodities and characterful persons.

The contribution which the pacifist is thus called upon to make in the present world crisis, is to try to lay the foundations, on however small a scale, of a qualitative civilization. Once the values of a creative life and

a creative society are experienced, the importance of material possessions will decline.

Health of mind and body will acquire a new significance and will assist in humanizing and simplifying conduct. Good living will have a spiritual connotation and will be felt in every part of experience. By no other standards can justice be established and wealth be fairly distributed. In a world of money values justice has

no meaning: it is a case of catch-as-catch-can until all one's wants are satisfied.

Two things are needed: a new conception of value as part of a vital religion, and a new industrial technique. It is necessary to distinguish between good and evil, between the things which increase life and improve its quality and the things which diminish and degrade it.

The first step towards a new industrial technique is to abandon the policy of a big export trade in favour of a reasonably balanced economy, as between industry and agriculture. This we shall have to do sooner or later as the agricultural countries develop industrially, which they mean to do. This war has given them their chance. With a reasonably balanced economy we should be able to adopt the technique of the small workshop, wherein the worker would once again become master of his tools, a craftsman and a free man, a democrat.

Christianity contains two principles of conduct of which this age stands in dire need. One is that the secret of gaining life is to lose it, to pour out oneself in creative labour; the other, that the essence of goodness is good neighbourliness—towards all men. A society with any other basis can be neither democratic nor socialist. The foundation of the capitalist, fascist, communist or socialist State is the machine. The foundation of a Christian society is man as a human person, a creator.

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## LETTERS

### Still a chance for peace by negotiation?

IN his article (PN, Jun. 30), Dr. Wood says he believes "there is no doubt" that "the nation has decided on the ordeal" of the Second Front. But although many may now hope there will be a quick Allied military victory, what if these hopes are not fulfilled? Will not support for ending the conflict by negotiation grow rapidly and, perhaps, become a factor of great political importance? Whatever the outcome we expect, we should be ready for such a contingency.

The proposals made recently by the Duke of Bedford provide a reasonable basis for a peaceful settlement and are, I believe, worthy of careful consideration. These are:

1. All nations, Axis and Allied, to agree to abstain from political interference in the affairs of countries desiring their freedom.
2. The world's economic resources to be distributed according to the needs and numbers of the different peoples and without regard to their form of government: all nations to co-operate in the full development of the world's economic resources under a system "which allows of no financial or trade hindrances."
3. Total world disarmament to be arranged and maintained by a fully representative International Commission of Inspection, assisted by a staff of expert military or civilian advisers. The representatives of every country to have the right to demand of others any facilities for inspection which their experts inform them are necessary for their protection against possible secret rearmament, provided that they are themselves prepared to grant similar rights of inspection to the representatives of all other nations who may require such rights.

The advantages of such a 3-point plan are obvious and if properly presented to the man-in-the-street the case for its adoption should be virtually unanswerable.

G. F. BLIGH

206 Derbyshire Lane West,  
Stretford, Manchester.

### The price of peace

The writer of the leading article in PN, Jun. 30, does not believe peace ought to come quickly, because he knows "something of what it costs in sacrifice and suffering . . . to become submissive to the will of God."

Perhaps he would give us an estimate of the suffering to be endured and the sacrifice to be made before he thinks peace permissible.

PAUL SPENCER

122 Woodlands Ave., West Byfleet, Surrey.

### Warning from robots

Despite this new form of war weapon, people still pin their faith in war as a means to an end; but this new terror weapon should give them an intimation of the means by which wars in the future will be waged. Machines will ruthlessly destroy human life and all civilization, while those who direct them will be well dug in underground.

The pilotless plane should convince people that war is no longer a justifiable way of settling differences, whichever way one looks at it. I do not think it possible for the world to suffer another such chaos as this, but we shall not get any change until the people will it; I sincerely hope all those who are convinced that the end does not justify the means will make their voices heard, wherever and whenever they can, to stop humanity from sliding into a living hell of a world dominated by force, each nation armed to the teeth with all the terrible weapons of modern warfare, with the young men and women conscripted for anything and everything. Just at a time when their brain becomes alert, and they show initiative, they will be rooted from their environment, to be turned into robots, learning only how to kill.

This is the future, the "New World Order." Anyone who shuts his eyes to it is living in a fools' paradise, and making a fools' hell to live in.

L. F. GRAY

73 Broadway, St. Thomas, Exeter.

"We should give the cities and the villages of Germany not merely a taste of what they are giving civilians in Southern England, but blows a thousand times as hard. And I think it is time we began."—John Gordon, Sunday Express, Jul. 2. Note that "obliteration" bombing of German centres of population and their inhabitants began on Mar. 3, 1942; the attacks by flying-bombs on Southern England began on Jun. 15, 1944. So much for John Gordon's self-the-war hypocritical indignation! Or are we to believe that this experienced propaganda-journalist isn't master of his facts and has no access to Press files?

T. J. E. WARBURTON

27 Warrior Square, Hastings.

### Compulsory patriotism

Why no comment in PN on the "compulsory patriotism" regulation promised in the Lords? This will affect directly hundreds of teachers and thousands of parents (pacifists and otherwise). Is there not as clear a duty of non-co-operation as if we were ruled by an alien or avowedly totalitarian government? This is urgent, practical "politics"; but Peace News is dumb.

ARTHUR FRENCH

The Cottage, Regent St., Stonehouse, Glos.

### The real war aim

The smoke-screen of idealistic war-aims so carefully arranged by Allied statesmen has now dispersed, showing the ugly reality of a mere determination to gain and maintain economic control of the world by sustained violence. To pretend otherwise is to add to the prevalent confusion of public opinion.

LENA ROBERTS

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## Bookshop calling

ALTHOUGH trade in the last two or three weeks has been a little slack, the PPU Bookshop continues to justify its existence. We have been greatly encouraged by the magnificent total taken at the Literature Stall at the last AGM and by the fact that we have realized the sum of income allotted to the Bookshop by the Finance Committee for the first four months of the year.

During the last few months a source has been discovered for the supply of Penguin Specials, and from the numbers we have disposed of it would appear that we have been able to meet a need.

Owing to paper rationing, the book shortage is becoming daily more serious. The replies "Out of print" and "Reprinting—no date" in relation to books of all kinds is becoming more and more frequent. Members are therefore urged not to delay in sending in their orders.

I would mention for the benefit of those who may not already be aware of it, that we are members of the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland, and we can obtain any book to order, provided it is in print. We also sell and exchange Book Tokens.

I want to thank all those who have supported the Bookshop in the past, and I hope many more members will order books through us in the future. It is your Bookshop, and we are here to do the best we can for you. By giving us your orders you will encourage us, and you will be helping the general funds of the movement.

HENRY RUTLAND

## What the P.P.U. stands for

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the Peace Pledge Union, write for information to: The General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

Dr. Alfred Salter's rooms have been severely damaged by a flying-bomb. Providentially, Dr. Salter was out and so escaped certain death. His innumerable friends and admirers will rejoice to hear that he is safe.

## The problem of re-education

ONE of the major problems of post-war years is the re-education of the Nazi children. How we have condemned the "Nazification" of the German schools; the drilling of children in uniform; stupefactive wireless speeches in the crowded schoolrooms; the glorifying and falsifying of national history! How can we make world citizens of these children who have been subjected to Nazi sword-psychology during the most crucial years of their lives?

Yet we gaze contentedly over our neighbour's garden wall and watch the birds eating his young plants, while behind our backs birds are eating the young plants in our own.

We find in our country that the cream of the teaching profession is in khaki, inspired with ideals of freedom and democracy. Many have died rather than allow the Nazi-germ to infect British schools.

Throughout occupied Europe this opposition of teachers has been made manifest. To the martyrs of Norway we bow in silent reverence and meditation. But how many of our teachers are to return, like the citizen-farmers of the First Punic

War, to find that the privileges and freedom that they went out to protect have vanished overnight?

On our streets little children are armed with toy Tommy-guns, wear khaki caps or tin helmets; have wooden tanks and toy Spitfires to play with. How we condemned all this in Germany and Japan! But the germ has known no national walls nor tariff barriers; refuses to be monopolized by any chosen people.

### Breeding Hate?

On our children will lie the responsibility of the future peace of the world; but if they are taught to hate German children who are innocent of Nazi atrocities, how can we hope for peace and good will between nations?

If our educational system introduces hate into its body-politic it becomes futile. What can we expect to result from all the pomp and circumstance that attend "Savings Weeks" in our schools, but hate? From teaching our children who know nothing of the causes of this war to hate German children who are equally ignorant of this folly and catastrophe?

In a recent "Salute the Soldier Week" (as in previous Savings weeks) little children—from infants upwards—were encouraged to take their pennies to school to help destroy the Hun: to bomb, burn, blast and ravage the innocent children of Europe. Posters, many of which the children have made, cover the school walls: it sickens one to look at many of them. Together the children go to the cinema, waving their little flags, to see how the money is spent on land, sea and air—destroying the Germans.

What expediency can be granted here? Our nazifying of the schools has not even a purpose; for the few hundred pounds collected through the children might easily come through other channels. Let school savings be used for creative and not destructive purposes: there is plenty of scope for such work in this world of suffering.

IVOR EDWARDS

We hope to publish shortly an interesting account by a schoolteacher of an inquiry into the apparent effects of war propaganda on children.

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Hampstead: now Douglas H. Andrew, 50 Savernake Rd., Hampstead, N.W.3. (GULliver 2640.)

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### Words of Peace—81

#### Iron sin

*A shell is just an iron sin, like the nail that pierced Christ's feet. It is just sin wrought into metal. Sin can be worked into any form. It is just a gift of God misused. Sin takes form and substance in a million ways: it pours forth in speech, it is painted in colours, it is built into bricks and mortar, it is carved into marble. It took the form of a wooden cross and crucified the Son of God. It takes the form of an iron shell and kills God's children by the score.*

*War is just sin in a million forms, in a million of God's gifts misused. God cannot deal with war in any way that by which he deals with sin. He cannot save us from war except by saving us from sin. When at last through prayer the stream of the Spirit has flowed out to all, men will look upon their guns, their bombs, their gas cylinders, as mad monstrosities, and will take the metal from the earth to mould and beat it, not into engines of death, but into means of beauty and life.*

—G. A. Studdert Kennedy, when serving as chaplain behind the French front in 1916-18.

The phrase "potential feelings," in the quotation from Stephen Leacock's "Laughter and Wisdom" which appeared in this feature last week, should have read "parental feelings."

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

### ACCOMMODATION

NON-COMBATANT (art master) requires flat, small house, London area; wife, 3 children; rent or purchase. Grateful any practical suggestions. Box 491.

RECENTLY BLITZED pacifist family urgently want small house, flat, or rooms with minimum stairs at moderate rent. 3 in family, baby expected. Can anyone help? Box 504.

TO LET from Sept., long period: furnished country cottage, 1 mile station and good town. 4 rooms, accommodation sleeping 5 persons, kit., bathroom, main water, gas, electric, all conveniences. Good garden. Box 505.

DESPERATELY URGENT! Rooms or flat, furnished or unfurnished, for expectant mother (booked St. Catherine's Nursing Home mid-Sept.) with child of two in Letchworth district. Quaker or pacifist family preferred. Box 511.

LONDON PACIFIST seeks safe, homely accommodation for wife and 2 young children. Within 100 miles London preferred. Please state terms. Box 513.

YOUNG PACIFIST couple require accommodation within five miles Lancaster, furnished or unfurnished, with or without attendance. Box 516.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

WANTED. AT Llandudno, board residence for two ladies, Aug. 12-26. Mills, 50 Holbrook Road, Belper, Derbyshire.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

YOUNG VIOLINIST, in London area, gives lessons to beginners and progressives. Box 479.

### FOR SALE AND WANTED

ALLYSOLO—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert in this issue.

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

TYPEWRITERS: bought, sold, repaired; special terms to pacifists. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

PRINTING PRESS complete comprehensive collection type and accessories. Suitable for pamphlets and magazines. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

### LAND AND COMMUNITY

PACIFIST LAND-WORKER seeks smallholding Home Counties or East Anglia. Dwelling to rent an advantage. Box 512.

YOUNG WOMAN with child, 18 mths. (bombed), desires join community; market-garden experience, own furniture. Also young man wishes join same community; would teach nearby. Box 519.

### LITERATURE, etc.

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems. No. I on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. II "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde., Harrogate.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

SIXPENCE FOR 3 pamphlets, or 3d. each: "Absolute Pacifism"; "Compulsion and Private Judgment"; "India: Who is Responsible?"; post free from D. Owen, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2.

### MEETINGS, etc.

MANCHESTER: GARDEN Party (P.P.U. and F.O.R.), Hernehill, 303 Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, Sat., Jul. 22, 3 p.m. Tickets 6d. from P.P.U., 41 John Dalton St., M/c. 2.

PUBLIC MEETING, Spanish Revolution anniversary, Jul. 19, 1936; at the Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., on Sun., Jul. 23, at 6 p.m. Speakers: J. Garcia Pradas, Tom Brown, J. Delso de Miguel, Ken Hawkes. Chairman: Mat Kavanagh. Organized by the Anarchist Federation of Britain and C.N.T. (Spanish Revolutionary Union).

PACIFIST TEACHERS' and youth workers' conference at 2 p.m. on Aug. 16 at Friends House, Euston Rd. Speaker: James Strachan, Friends' Education Committee. Applications to Patrick Figgis, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

WOBURN DISTRICT. Patrick Figgis, Sun., Jul. 23, 3.15 p.m. meeting, 6 p.m. service; both at Congregational Church, Woburn. Bring food, refreshments provided.

CO-OPERATIVE ARMISTICE Council. Meeting for supporters of Armistice resolution to London Co-op., at National Peace Council offices, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1, on Sun., Jul. 16, at 10.30 a.m.

### PERSONAL

MAN (42), married, with modest capital and with ideas of starting cut flower and fruit farm for post-war period near Northampton, would like to meet someone who could be helpful. Box 506.

REQUIRED: SMALL loan to help accommodation problem: mechanical toys for youngsters and cuckoo clock to purchase by land C.O. Box 517.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

ODAM HILL School and Children's Farm, S. Molton, Devon, needs married handyman (exempt position) end July. Wife help in school. One or two children welcomed.

YOUNG MAN required for general work on market gardening. Previous experience not essential. Small wage with full board and lodging. Good home, pleasant surroundings. Near Taunton, Somerset. Employer a C.O. Write immediately, Box 488.

URGENT: outside representative for typewriter business. Salary and commission. Owner, C.O. anticipating prison. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

WANTED: DOMESTIC help. Two friends welcomed, but no accommodation for children. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel. Abinger 119.

SECRETARIAL AND general assistance required in Circulation Dept., Peace News. Shorthand-typing essential. Apply Office Manager.

SIBFORD SCHOOL, nr. Banbury. Housekeeper and domestic helpers wanted. Sibford is a co-educational boarding school in the heart of the country and is governed by the Society of Friends.

PART-TIME ASSISTANCE varied, interesting work social character. Remuneration, exes. Ilford district. Les. Coppin, 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford.

CYCLE MECHANIC required, experienced preferred but not essential. Ferris, 257 Bath Road, Hounslow, Middx. HOU 3889.

## PACIFISTS' PLACE IN SOCIETY

THIRTY-FIVE pacifists from all parts of the Western and Devon and Cornwall Areas of the PPU toiled up the western edge of the Blackdown Hills on June 24 to attend an inter-Area conference on "Pacifists in society" at Spiceland Hostel, Blackborough, Devon.

In the opening session on "Pacifism and a Moral Basis for Society," Will Parkin reminded his audience of the Church's position as moral custodian in the Middle Ages, and traced the loss of standards through the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution. He contrasted the religious fervour of the early working-class movement with the present Labour Party, and saw the PPU's function in society as exercised through members who were charitable and humble towards each other, and differentiated between convention and morality. He showed various ways in which they could influence their fellow citizens towards true morality. A stimulating discussion followed.

On the Sunday morning the conference heard Howard Whitten on "Pacifists and politics." He was glad, he said, that that was their subject and not "pacifism v. politics." There were many fields of political activity in which they had civic responsibility and in which there was no specifically pacifist contribution. They should be grateful for the great opportunity they had had for detached thinking and study in the past years. He hoped this would make a valuable influence in post-war politics.

Stressing the revolutionary aspect of the Pledge, he showed how it challenged the whole nature of society as pacifists became aware of its implications. Even amid war, food-relief, anti-Vansittartism, and Indian freedom provided a common basis for political activity with many non-pacifists. He ended with a survey of the contemporary scene and an assessment of the effects of post-war disillusion on the pacifist movement and on the prospects of an enduring peace.

After lunch the conference assembled for the final session on "The CO's place in the post-war world," opened by A. Joe Brayshaw, who emphasised the privileged position pacifists occupied in society. It was unrealistic to imagine that those who had not done fighting would influence the peace directly.

He urged co-operation with other bodies who would oppose military conscription after the war. There was little danger of industrial conscription, but military conscription was a menace to future peace, and others, such as Common Wealth, might also oppose it. The discussion proved lively and provocative.

More than anything else, the conference emphasised the need for the Union to go forward courageously and avail itself of every opportunity to influence the large community by linking its fine ideals and aspirations to the mundane yet necessary task of running the society we live in.

### C.O.'s REMISSION INCREASED

Alan Morley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne war resister, has been allowed an extra four days' remission by the Home Office for serving hard labour in prison when no order to that effect was made by the Court which sentenced him. On May 3 Alan Morley, who had already served 12 months' hard labour for refusing medical examination, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for failing to comply with a Ministry of Labour direction to forestry work. On hearing of the circumstances, the matter was taken up with the Home Office by the Central Board for COs.

WANTED HOUSEKEEPER (must be vegetarian). No objection to child. Sewell, Ashcroft, Millford Rd., Sidmouth.

BURGESS HILL School requires at Cranleigh, Surrey (boarding 5-11), junior school teacher. Subsid. P.T. and carpentry useful. Apply Secretary.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell Typewriting Office, 8 Lammas Park Gardens, Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

ACTIVE MAN, 26, requires agriculture labouring or country milking. Accommodation essential, any county. Box 507.

DENTAL TECHNICIAN (C.O. condition), 29, seeks post in agreeable surroundings. Expert in acrylics, cast and struck gold, etc. Free in August. Will need accommodation locally for self and wife. Box 508.

3 C.O.s, 21-24, one married, wife available domestic work, seek temp. or perm. land work, any locality. 3½ yrs.' exp. general farm, market-gardening, arable, drainage. Keen, adaptable. Int. community. Box 509.

C.O. (23. MARRIED) requires situation with good cottage. 2½ yrs.' market-gardening with some driving experience. 1 year general farming and machine-milking. Box 510.

COWMAN, FIVE years' experience dairy and arable farming, wishing to do tractor work. Small knowledge of tractor driving. Cottage. Start October. Box 514.

TWO C.O.s, 21-24, single, seek land-work, any locality. 3½ yrs.' exp. general farm-land work. Int. community. Box 515.

EXPERIENCED LAND-WORKER, C.O., urgently seeks work in S.W. England for a room (not board) for wife and 2 children. Box 518.

### MISCELLANEOUS

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.



## FALSE DISTINCTIONS IN FRANCE

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

maybe is the best and simplest explanation of the extraordinary passion—amounting to fanaticism—recently roused in the British Press by the dispute about de Gaulle.

The Manchester Guardian seemed quite intoxicated. Never in all its history, we imagine, has it begged the question so persistently and so shrilly. Never once has it condescended to examine the question whether de Gaulle or Gaullism really does represent France, and to what extent. It does not even take the trouble to assert that de Gaulle is France. It simply uses the two words as synonyms.

The Daily Express (July 10) for some mysterious reason has swung over against de Gaulle. Quite truly it says that the pretence that the British public is clamouring for the recognition of de Gaulle is a pretence. And then it puts the blame for it on "the Bloomsbury set." It seems a little far-fetched.

### The workers decided

Here is a fact about France, instead of wishful conjecture. Cherbourg had a daily paper: L'Eclair. It was published under the German occupation and (says The Observer, July 9) preached collaboration. On the landing of the Allies, the editor fled to Paris, leaving the paper in the hands of his brother-in-law, M. Hamel, who was the manager. When Cherbourg was captured, M. Coulet, the new Gaullist commissaire, invited M. Pillet, a journalist of the resistance movement, to start a new paper, with the premises, machinery and paper-stocks of L'Eclair.

The workers promptly struck. They said that M. Hamel had not written in it, but only managed it "in a spirit of fraternal co-operation with the workers." M. Pillet had to give way. Finally, it was decided by the sub-prefect, who was called in to arbitrate, that a new paper, La Presse, should be issued, with M. Hamel as manager and the old editorial staff of L'Eclair. M. Pillet has agreed to "co-operate in the new arrangements," which have been approved by the workers and the resistance movement.

The incident is encouraging. It points to the futility of an attempt to divide France into resistance-sheep and collaborationist-goats; and it indicates that the workers will have none of it and will decide for themselves—on human grounds.

### Hideous choice

THIS makes grim reading—above all, in a Friends' Ambulance Unit report on Relief Work in India:

"Women and children first is the principle supported by sentiment, but in famine areas this policy has often proved unwise. While children are fed, adults may starve and none may be left to till the fields. If there must be discrimination it should be 'cultivators and bread-winners first'."

How to such a situation shall we apply the contention of a correspondent who takes me to task for my recent and unrepented heresy?

"To postulate, however unwillingly, a choice of evils is to embrace a circumscribed reality in despair."

Feed them all! My heart says that, as passionately as my critic's. But if the food is not there? The Jesus of legend worked a miracle in like circumstances. What would the real man have done?

### Wavell or Churchill?

R. W. writes: "Whose policy is it that the Indian deadlock must go on? In his vigorous measures against the famine, Lord Wavell showed a bold initiative, utterly lacking in his predecessor, which raised hopes of an end to 'the peace of death' that has fallen upon India. Yet Linlithgow, like Lord Irwin and (despite his intentions to the contrary) Lord Willingdon, had to meet Gandhi sooner or later. Why does not Lord Wavell do so? It cannot be, as The Times suggests, because Gandhi has 'shown no real change of heart'—for Wavell is not a fool. It can only be because those are his instructions from the India Office."

"Behind those instructions we hear the voice of Mr. Churchill expostulating against the disgusting spectacle of a half-naked fakir striding up the steps of the viceregal palace to negotiate on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor. That was fifteen years ago. Mr. Churchill has shown no sign that his mind on India has changed since then. His mind is not the mind of Britain, nor of the British in India."

Mr. Gandhi himself does not believe Mr. Churchill's mind has changed. In an interview reported in Tuesday's News Chronicle he said:

"... I tell you that the common talk among us is that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has no authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported."

# New relief plan to save Europe's hungry children

## BACKED BY EXILED GOVERNMENTS

NORWAY, Holland, Belgium, and France have presented to the US Government a relief plan for feeding children between the ages of four and fifteen years in European towns. The Royal Netherlands Embassy in London has informed the Food-Relief Campaign that this plan "has likewise been presented to His Majesty's Government."

News that the plan had been presented to Mr. Cordell Hull first appeared in the London Press on July 1. The plan was submitted by the Belgian and Norwegian Ambassadors, the Netherlands Minister Plenipotentiary, and the French National Committee's delegate in Washington.

No details have so far been made public, but it is noticed that the four countries concerned are those specified in the Kershner Plan and it is thought probable that the scheme is on the same general lines. This would also be in line with the unanimous Congress resolutions earlier this year which "express the conviction that immediate steps should be taken to extend the Greek experiment" to other occupied countries among which Belgium, Norway and the Netherlands are named—although France is not.

### N.P.C. SUPPORT

Support for a relief plan of this type is still growing steadily in Britain. Common Wealth and the Independent Labour Party have already adopted the Kershner Plan. On July 4 the annual meeting of the National Peace Council passed a long resolution pressing "for an increase in the assistance already being given to Greece and for the extension of controlled relief on similar lines to other occupied countries in Europe."

It is understood that a message from the Famine Relief Committee opposing support for the Kershner Plan was read to the meeting. Dr. Kershner is unpopular with some American Quakers because he is not a pacifist. He is unpopular with the Famine Relief Committee because he has said openly that the opposition to extended relief is in London and not in Washington; he has committed the unpardonable indiscretion of telling the truth.

The food-relief issue is too important for further controversy over personalities. Kershner stands for one type of relief; the type which the American Congress has voted for. The Famine Relief Committee stands for another type. We would rather see their smaller proposal adopted than none at all, but we believe there is more prospect of success for a wider scheme giving more substantial relief. It looks as though the governments of the countries concerned are now taking the same view.

### GREEKS STILL STARVE

News received by the Food-Relief Campaign from the Ministry of Information reveals that the position in Greece is still desperate. "During 1943 the population of the capital received on the average the following:

Bread	...	474 calories
Relief foodstuffs	...	200 "
German foodstuffs and official distribution of local products	100	"
Local products available on the market	...	150 "
<b>Total daily</b>		<b>924 calories</b>

"The foregoing figures apply to the population of the capital," the report continues, "to

whom relief has been given far more regularly and upon a far more comprehensive scale than elsewhere in Greece. While famine was raging in Athens (winter of 1941-42) conditions in the provinces were still tolerable. But now, partly owing to transport difficulties and partly to the spreading of guerrilla warfare, the Greek provincials fare less well than formerly. It is estimated that in the provinces relief distributions, always irregular, do not exceed 400-500 calories per head daily."

Conditions in the Ionian Islands are also worse. "Only 15% of the population get any bread (usually maize bread) every day. The poorest have not eaten bread for 3 or 4 months: the main foodstuffs consumed in the islands are weeds, cooked in water without olive oil. Tuberculosis in consequence is spreading; malaria and dysentery are a permanent danger; and whole villages (as elsewhere in Greece) suffer from scabies." Conditions in Northern and Western Europe are nowhere as bad as this; but grave reports of health conditions in both France and Belgium have recently been received.

## DISHONoured?

When the Ottawa Rowing Club unveiled its roll of honour recently (reports Time, June 12) the name of Theodore Dubois, single sculls champion of North America, was covered with adhesive tape—because he had declined to volunteer for overseas service.

Canadian draftees may choose between home defence and overseas service. Dubois chose the former. When the Ottawa RC President—who is also assistant director of army recruiting—remonstrated with him, Dubois replied. "If Admiral Byrd was to come and ask for volunteers to accompany him on an Antarctic expedition... I would jump at that... Just as in rowing, it seems my temperament is such that where I can punish myself... it is just fine and dandy. But when it comes to handing it out, I just cannot do it."

## PACIFIST DIES FROM WOUNDS

Reporting the death from wounds, on Jun. 10, of R. Glyn Roberts of Talsarn, Caernarvonshire, a Welsh paper writes: "Glyn... was a pacifist and a lover of peace and noted for his kindness and generosity. His insistence that he would take no part in the war except to save life and relieve pain led him to the RAMC... He had served... throughout the campaigns in Libya, Tunisia, and Italy, and had been wounded in El Alamein and Tunis, and taken ill in Italy. He returned to this country on a hospital ship in January." The fatal wounds were apparently received in France.

### TWO NEW BROADSHEETS

The Central Board for COs has added two new titles—Nos. 14 and 15—to its useful series of 1d. Broadsheets. They are: "Part-time civil defence" and "Call-up for the Home Guard." Order from CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1 (sending cash with order).

## SEEK BOMBING PACT

Pacifists' call to  
London M.P.s

Before their meeting on Tuesday to discuss problems created by flying-bomb attacks, many London MPs had received letters from PPU members and at least one PPU group urging that an attempt be made to seek an agreement with Germany to stop bombing civilians on both sides.

## FIRST-HAND VIEW OF INDIA

An article specially contributed by D. V. Tahmankar, who has recently returned from India, where he was Special Correspondent for Reynolds News, News Chronicle, and Evening Standard, is one of the features of the summer number of New Vision. Tahmankar discusses the political situation and the food question in the light of knowledge gained during his 12-month stay in his native land.

Other contributions include: Clare Sheridan, the sculptor, on Mr. Gandhi; Suresh Vaidya, the Indian nationalist CO; illustrated interview with Frank Horrabin; and Ethel Mannin. Copies are obtainable from New Vision Publications, 12b Manor Rd., Stoke Newington, N.16, price 9d. (10d. post free).

## NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN

The Negotiated Peace Campaign began with a flying start in Bradford (Yorkshire) recently. A meeting at which Winifred Rawlins (PPU) and Leslie Kirkley (FoR) were the speakers had a record attendance. The meeting was preceded by a leader in the local paper criticizing the campaign and challenging the PPU to answer several questions.

Open-air meetings on Saturday afternoons throughout the summer have been planned; at the first a crowd of about one hundred listened to Winifred Rawlins and Leonard Bird.

## ANOTHER SUMMONS FOR ELPHICK

Another summons has now been issued by the Town Clerk of Lewes against George P. Elphick—this CO's ninth for refusing fire-guard duty. The date of the hearing is July 25.

Until the case has been heard it is now *sub judice* and protest and comment are inadvisable.

Just Published

## "A NEW WORLD ORDER"

by Rev. H. J. Dale

Price 1s. (by post 1s. 2d.)

Foreword by Dr. A. D. Belden

"The Rev. H. J. Dale has performed excellent service to the cause of Christianity by publishing his thoughts on the relationship between the Church and the present international situation. If all the clergy and ministers of Britain were as loyal to the Faith as Mr. Dale, the march towards paganism which we are now witnessing would be halted."—Rhys J. Davies, M.P.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS,  
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Copies can be obtained from the Author, Quanton, Aylesbury, Bucks, or the P.P.U.

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# CONSCRIPTION AS THE TEST OF THE PEACE

By NORMAN THOMAS

the well-known American socialist

THE average man grows bewildered by discussion on what will constitute a desirable peace and post-war arrangement of world affairs. The subject is indeed complicated and enormously important. I will contribute to it one simple test. It is this: the peace will be good and likely to endure if it encourages or requires the end of competitive aggressive armaments and the abolition of universal military conscription.

If, on the contrary, following the establishment of peace, the nations continue military training and service for all able-bodied young men, and compete in aggressive armament, no agreements for collective security and no pacts of co-operation, however beautifully embellished they may be with Churchillian or Rooseveltian rhetoric, will long endure.

This is not to say that the world can have a one-plank peace. No such peace can be written, and if it could, it would not necessarily prevent war between quarrelsome nations which might improvise armies and arma-

ments, the industrially advanced nations having an immense advantage in that improvisation.

Nevertheless, our simple test is wholly valid. Nations won't disarm without some satisfaction of their desire for security, but neither will they support great armaments if they have assurance of security nor accept the costs of universal military conscription merely as a character and health builder for youth.

The Versailles Treaty promised that the victors would disarm following the compulsory disarmament of Germany. When, instead, they continued competitive armaments and conscription, it was evident that the peace was a failure and there was not even enough harmony among armed nations to permit them to oppose the rearmament of Germany. The failure of disarmament was proof that a new war would not be long delayed.

The continuance of conscription on the European continent among the victors did not make for military security. What has happened in the past will happen in the future. If the world is to continue with arms and conscription, it is the big nations which will win.

—From a pamphlet issued in USA  
by the Post War World Council.